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9. SOLUTION - DIALOGUE FOR PEACE

A solution to the problem of East Timor should identify with peace. There must be many definitions forthe term `peace´, as the word has different connotations on different occasions:

PEACE for the displaced General Yusuf would be a situation brought about through dialogue with the guerrillas;

PEACE for Catholic Beni Murdani means extermination of the guerrillas;

PEACE for Mochtar would be Portugal altering its Constitution;

PEACE for Monsgr. Pablo Puente would be the repatriation of the guerrillas (Mnsgr. Puente must be a Middle East expert and close observer of the PLO case);

PEACE for Monsgr. Canalini is to resign ourselves to surrender since this would spare our lives;

PEACE for Australia is theagreementwith Jakarta for joint oil exploration on East Timor´s sea bed;

PEACE for the illustrious Governor Mário Carrascalao will be the Christmas present promised to the `Timorese people´ last year by the `menteri dalam negeri´, but which he still has not had the chance to bring to Dili, perhaps because he is recruiting further political and diplomatic support;

PEACE for Ali Alatas is the Vatican implicitly recognising integration, belying the faithful´s Islamisation as well as human rights violations in East Timor by the papal visit.

(...)

True and lasting peace will only be possible if the wish of the Maubere people is heard.

As head of the Church in East Timor, Mnsgr. Ximenes Belo has already spoken on the subject of a referendum, through which the will of the Maubere people would be heard.

Holding a referendum presupposes:

a. before all else, an end to hostilities

b. the adoption of international juridical mechanisms to check and control the processand make it viable

c. respect for the supreme wishes ofthe peopleof East Timor, as freely and democratically expressed

We fully support the proposal of our Bishop, the Bishop of Dili, Monsgr. Ximenes Belo and, in order to erradicate any still lingering doubts, we add that should the Maubere people `reaffirm´ their desire for integration with Indonesia, then we the guerrillas of the FALINTIL would unhesitatingly lay down our arms without delay. Furthermore, we would be prepared to be imprisoned for life in the Cipinang prison and to daily receive all the tortures to which thousands of Timorese have been subjected, having had the misfortune to believe in ... crooks, disturbers of Indonesia´s peace!

Just as the UN Secretary General proposed a referendum for Western Sahara to Morocco and the Polisario Front, we believe that the same formula should be considered neither unheard of nor impossible for East Timor.

(...)

When there is talk of the outlook for finding a way to peace in East Timor, some of those upholding Jakarta´s genocide policy express `concern´, and attempt to point out that the current situation is preferable to any other, even if the latter were in line with international law, and they are quick to prophesy the possible return to the 1975 civil war situation. These indivuduals take nothing into consideration nor do they take into account the slightest positive aspects related to the Timorese political process. These moralists resort to referring to past and possible future episodes while, in the eyes of the world, they close their own eyes to the butchery which has permitted the current "control of East Timor" situation. For them, neither the peopleof East Timor nor their leaders are capable of anything, capable of thinking ... but the truth of the matter is that they are afraid of the Maubere people talking.

Indonesia also is afraid of dialogue and, in particular, fears the referendum. The Indonesian governors are well aware that the Timorese population wholeheartedly rejects Indonesia´s presence. If Ali Alatas were so sure that, in 1976, the people freely opted for integration, he would not be opposed to the integrated people of East Timor being legally, freely and democratically consulted under UN supervision. Monsgr. Belo was explicit: to listen to the Maubere people, obviously in a legal context, in order to find out what they really want: to stay with Portugal, independence, or integration with Indonesia ... because, until now,

others have always done the talking for them". Monsgr. Belo does not precisely propose independence, nor staying with Portugal. Neither does Monsgr. Belo categorically state that the people of East Timor do not want integration. In this way, Ali Alatas's reply only goes to demonstrate how fragile Indonesia's arguments are, and how false and empty its statements.

(...)

If a fair solution should identify with peace, true and lasting peace should be a corollary to frank and serious dialogue. We are not demanding any absurd solutions from the world, neither are we seeking any solution which might compromise the UN Charter. We are only demanding adherence to the rules laid down by the Community of Nations, and respect for the universal principles which gave rise to the UN. Some individuals and governments like to base their arguments on the "reality of the situation", and seek to divert from the illegal and immoral nature of the Indonesian invasion and military occupation. They try to convince us to "be realistic" and, in order to be so, we should convince ourselves of the benefits reaped by the massacre of 200,000 Timorese.

(...)

We have already drawn up a peace plan, which not only complies with other relevant resolutions and with Resolution 37/30 of the UN General Assembly, but interprets the current state of development of the Timorese political process.

PEACE PLAN

A - The premise for the talks, directed by the UN Secretary General, to be as follows:

- illegality of the Indonesian occupation
- the Maubere people's inalienable right to a true act of self-determination
- the urgent need for restoration of international legality by way of Portugal's presence

B - The following points must be discussed with the participation of the Maubere people's representatives:

1. - The guarantees undertaken by Portugal with a view to ensuring regional stability.

- East Timor's commitments with regard to the interests of its neighbouring countries and its role in maintaining

peace and stability in the region.

- A basic agreement of principles on the means of sharing out Timor's sea bed wealth.

2. The constitution of a peace force, or an international force, or (should the latter be too costly for the UN) even a UN Commission to verify and render viable:

   a. in the 1st phase:

      - the withdrawal of Indonesia's Armed Forces over a period of between 3 to 6 months, and the return of the Indonesian civilians over a period as yet to be determined;

      in the 2nd phase:

      - simultaneous disarming of natives armed by the occupier and FALINTIL guerrillas; the latter would stay in the mountains until this moment;

      in the 3rd phase:

      - the reorganisationof the Army, under Portuguese responsibility, as decolonising power;

   b. the setting up of a tranistionaladministration headed by a High Commissioner,representing Portugal, for a maximum period of 5 years. It would be during this time that Portugal and East Timor would set a date for general elections and the handing over of sovereignty to the representatives of the Maubere people.

   c. During this transition period, under Portugal's responsibility, agreements on cooperation with Indonesia, Australia, the EEC and other countries will be established with a view to ensuring quick and harmonious development of East Timor's potential;

   d. formation of a National Unity Government for a period of between 5 and 15 years to be set between Portugal and the representatives of East Timor.

It is frank and serious dialogue that can lead to the commitments necessary to safeguard the interests of each and of all in general, because the people of East Timor know they are not without obligations towards the surrounding area and they will abdicate from making their contribution towards harmony, cooperation and understanding with their neighbours.

As member of the Maubere Resistance National Council - the leadership of the Maubere people - and as Commander of the FALINTIL, we reaffirm our readiness to contribute towards a legal and peaceful transition process in East Timor, and we declare:

a. that we will defend a general amnesty for all the occupier's faithful collaborators who, directly or indirectly, have contributed to the constant human rights violations;

b. that all the servants of the Indonesian occupation will be offered the same opportunities and same rights as any citizen of East Timor;

c. that no one will be dispossessed of the properties obtained during the years of Indonesian occupation (with the exception of expropriations from legitimate owners);

d. that the natives armed by the occupier will be reintegrated with East Timor's Armed Forces;

e. that the human and material resources of the army, which will be formed under Portugal's responsibility, will be dictated by the demands of regional stability (we do not rule out the idea of, in the future, eliminating the Armed Forces altogether in order to enable East Timor to assume the status of a peaceful and neutral country, as a contribution to world peace);

f. that the Maubere people will not allow East Timor to be used forany activity which would threaten the peace and stability of neighbouring countries - in particular that of Indonesia - and will take part in the rapid dismantling of any such attempt;

g. that we will do everything to ensure that relations of any nature with other countries do not give rise to concern about the stability of the area.

h. that we will endeavour to get FRETILIN - party to which we no longer belong - to modify its political objectives, and to become more consistent with East Timor's real needs and interests;

i. that we will never abandon dialogue as a means to finding the solution to disagreements with any countries of the world, and especially with our neighbours.

We have always shown our readiness to talk, and have even made, in advance, concessions which we believed to be our responsib-

ity as part of the obligations the region required. It is now up to Indonesia to recognise that inflexibility is not the most correct attitude for the country attempting to play the role of peace-maker in the Cambodia conflict.

Peace for East Timor will only come about as a result of responsible and realistic changes in the current position of the Jakarta Government. The Holy See could have an influential and positive part to play in bringing that about.

The Maubere people continue to be confident of victory. The Maubere people will never tire of resisting and, as long as they have breath in their bodies to carry on resisting, they will always have hope of one day finding peace ... which is their utmost desire!

Peace is possible in East Timor! Dialogue is the way to peace! The referendum will open up the panorama for a fair solution!

Kay Rala Xanana Gusmao
Chief of the Resistance

Headquarters of the Maubere Resistance National Council
East Timor

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